UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

Academic Freedom

By CLARENCE R. SKINNER

Is There Moral Value in War?

By JOHN FAVILLE

Our Garden of Weeds

By SAMUEL MARION LOWDEN

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVI MONDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1925 NUMBER 3

"Pessimism and optimism are labels flung about by the frivolous or the ignorant. To be obsessed either by gloom or by hope, without knowledge of facts, is equally wrong. Humanity is ever encircled with tremendous difficulties: it is endowed with incalculable powers of recuperation. The ignorant do not see the dangers; the poor-hearted do not feel the hope. The wise man is often full of anxiety for the immediate future: he never loses faith in ultimate victory. He is always at once pessimist and optimist; for he never underrates the practical difficulties which obstruct the path of progress. But all the time he knows that progress must in the end prevail. And in the darkest hour he awaits the certain Dawn of Light."

—Frederick Harrison.

The League of Nations, heaven be praised, is out of Austria at last—or will be on January 1st. The sham and shame of the occupation, however, are brazenly maintained to the very end, for the League announces from Geneva "the entire success" of its efforts to restore the fiscal system of the country. *Success!* Yes, the "success" of the operation in the hospital when the patient dies! Suppose we look not at what the League thinks about this piece of business, but at what Vienna thinks. Here in this capital city of Austria we discover that there is a dramatic mingling of joy and wrath at the League's announced withdrawal. The joy springs from the fact that the League is gone—the dictatorial and high-salaried Zimmermann, the officious and high-salaried bank advisers, the numerous and high-salaried commissioners of varied kinds, all *gone!* What wonder that bells have been rung, meetings of jubilation held, and all the rest that goes with the deliverance of a people from bondage? But along with the joy is wrath —wrath that the League should demand that Professor Van Gyhe, of Holland, continue at the Austrian National Bank another three years, and should threaten the renewal of its occupation in ten years if the loan service is not promptly met. What wonder that the "press is brimming over with indignation," to quote a New York *Times* despatch, that the Social Democrats refuse to vote the 1926 budget, that the public clamors for the submission of the issue to *"force majeure"!* What we have here is a final demonstration of what has been charged again and again in these columns, that the League of Nations has been playing in Austria the oldest and most familiar game in the repertoire of imperialism. The League began by forcing on Austria a loan, to be paid, not as the Allies pay their debts to the United States, but in full and with interest. The League then set up a vast and expensive machinery of collection. Now, the chains fast riveted on the helpless victim, the League withdraws, with dire threats of what it will do if the money doesn't appear. It's an old game—see China, Egypt, Haiti, *ad infinitum.* And it's a "success"—a success for the international bankers, as the fatal operation above referred to is a success for the surgeons!

On January 8th, 1925, Mr. S. O. Levinson published in the columns of the *Christian Century* an article entitled "Can Peace Be 'Enforced': A Study of International Sanctions." This article, reprinted in pamphlet form, was widely distributed in this country and abroad, and went, among other places, to heads of government in England. On March 12, 1925, at Geneva, Mr. Austen Chamberlain, British Foreign Minister, delivered an address on the "Geneva Protocol." In this address appeared an impressive parallelism with the article by Mr. Levinson. Discussing the question of "sanctions," or the use of arms to enforce peace, the two spoke as follows:

S. O. LEVINSON

If we are trying to rid the world of war, any use of war for that purpose, though tempered by the name of sanctions, will produce a vicious and futile circle . . . The advocates of outlawry contend that the whole theory of sanctions as applied to international relations and sovereign entities is fallacious. . . . Consider contractual treaties or compacts between nations. Let us say that nations A and B enter into such a treaty compact. How is such a treaty to be enforced or its breach punished? Where are the sanctions? . . . The use of force in international relations is always tantamount to some form of military alliance. . . . Suppose that calls are not responded to by one or both of the allies. Such things have happened even in recent history. How are you going to enforce this alliance? Where are your sanctions? . . .

What does all this mean? It simply means that any arrangement, call it league, protocol, alliance or treaty, must in the last analysis *rest upon the good faith of the parties involved.*

AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN

It may perhaps be replied that, while every scheme of "sanctions" is open to criticism, some scheme of "sanctions" is certainly necessary. Without it a League of Nations would be as insecure as a civilized society without magistrates and police. International engagements which cannot be internationally enforced are little better than a sham.

To this challenge his Majesty's Government (reply that) they do not agree that without "sanctions" the League is powerless and treaties no better than waste paper. Doctrines like these seem to them not only mischievous, but self-contradictory. Every "sanction" referred to either in the Covenant or the Protocol depends on treaties; and if no treaties are of value, all "sanctions" must be worthless. Do what we will, *we have no choice but, in the last resort, to depend upon the plighted word.*

It looks to us as though Chamberlain has been studying Levinson!

That this statement of the British Foreign Minister is no chance coincidence is shown by impressive and significant passages on Chamberlain's address before the League of Nations at Geneva in the first week of December.

> "Don't let us lose sight," he said, "of the fact that if the only result of our efforts is to punish war and not prevent it, we have failed in achievement of the very purpose which we were created to pursue and that it is only in so far as we prevent war can we justify the hopes which humanity sets upon this great international society."

Again, in direct discussion of "sanctions," he said:

> Much of the attention of the last Assembly and its committees was directed to physical sanctions to be applied against flagrant aggressors. I don't underrate their importance, I don't deny their necessity, but I say to you with profound conviction that moral sanctions are as influential as sanctions of force and that moral sanctions act earlier, act more surely and in the long run—history is there to prove it—decide the issue of combat.

What impresses us in such statements as these is the cool and assured endorsement by a practical statesman of a pacifist doctrine which has been ridiculed and denounced without end in this country as utterly visionary. Whenever Outlawry is discussed, the first question asked, the first doubt expressed, has to do with "sanctions." How are you going to enforce it, is the query. Then when you declare that your "sanctions" are moral, not physical, that your reliance is upon public opinion not upon arms, the smile of incredulity, rapidly developing into the sneer of contempt, almost inevitably follows. Even peace advocates lift their jeers. Thus, in August last, in the Boston *Herald,* no less a man than Mr. Hamilton Holt held up the Outlawry program to scorn on no other ground than that its moral "sanctions" were ridiculous, since peace must be enforced by arms. So poisoned are we by the doctrine of force that we have no confidence any longer in the things of the spirit! Now comes along a hard-headed statesman, a man concerned exclusively with practical concerns, to rebuke these "of little faith." Nobody, so far as we know, has ever accused Austen Chamberlain of utopian idealism. Nobody has ever presented him to the world as a great moral and spiritual leader. Yet here he comes to tell us that the sanction of "the plighted word" must be our sole reliance against war. "Moral sanctions," he declares, are as influential as sanctions of force." Saul is among the Philistines indeed!

There is something so inexpressibly silly in the barring of the British Communist, Shapurji Saklatvala, M. P., from the sacred soil of the United States, that one is tempted to laugh once again at the priceless inanity of governments, and let the incident go at that. Our institutions must be weak indeed if they cannot stand a few breaths for a few weeks from a man whose gales of utterance England endures year in and year out without a quiver. Our people must be ripe for revolution if there is danger that a few sparks from an agitator's eyes can set the mobs aflame. And if our institutions are thus weak and our people thus rebellious, why should Mr. Kellogg go to such immense pains to advertise Mr. Saklatvala, to put his name on the front page of every newspaper and his words on all the cables and telegraph wires on the planet, and thus make his message known to hundreds of millions of people where it was formerly known to only a few score? Verily, the Secretary of State is a Dogberry who ought to be hurried into obscurity by the ribald laughter of his countrymen. But there is a serious as well as a silly side to this business. The action against Mr. Saklatvala was taken not merely by a timid and slow-witted old man in the State department, but by the authority of the President and thus by the administration itself. It is not so much a repetition as it is an aggravation of the famous Karolyi incident. It suggests that America is as subservient to British imperialism as in this former case it was subservient to Hungarian autocracy. It shouts to the high heaven the menacing truth that America herself is more and more becoming the instrument of tyranny, and thus losing little by little all those great attributes of freedom which as a nation she was born to serve. Note this comment by the Boston *Herald* on this Saklatvala episode! Referring to European affairs of the same kind, it says:

> The Italian police have just arrested 100 Communists charged with plotting insurrection. Mussolini may be a dictator, *but he did rescue Italy from chaos.*

Hail, Mussolini! Farewell, America! !

The business men and workingmen who united their joyful ululations over the demise of the Kansas Industrial Court at the time of the adverse Supreme Court decision some months ago, would do well to ponder the recent pronouncement of the American Bar Association on the subject. We refused to believe, when the Supreme Court handed down its unfavorable verdict, that the Industrial Court was dead, and the Kansas experiment thus at an end. On the contrary we contended that the application of the judicial principle to industrial disputes, as to disputes between individuals and ultimately between nations, was too sound in theory, too well substantiated in precedent and example, to be lightly cast aside on technicalities. Now comes the Bar Association, at its recent meeting in Detroit, to confirm our judgment! The decision of our highest tribunal, says the committee report of the Association, "does not destroy the Kansas Industrial Court." The decision limits to some extent the activities in which this particular Court may engage. "But the principles on which any industrial court must rest," continues the report, "are not denied. They cannot be denied. They are fundamental. The rights of the public sooner or later must be protected." This seems to us to be doctrine as elementary as it is wholesome.

No one would think of allowing two individuals to fight out their differences at the hazard of public convenience and safety, just as no one will think eventually of allowing two nations to fight out their differences at the very cost of civilization. In the same way at no very distant day, no one will think of allowing two industrial classes, capital and labor, to fight out their differences at similar cost. The present coal strike, for example, is an insult to reason, an indictment of government, a reversion to barbarism. What we must have is industrial courts, armed with the power of submitting industrial disputes to law. The sooner the Kansas Court becomes universal, the better for us all!

Joseph Fort Newton's withdrawal into the fold of the Episcopal church is depressing, but surprising only to those who are unfamiliar with the man and his career. By those who know him such a step on his part, as on the part of Reginald G. Campbell some years ago, might have been prophesied. Thus, in all the inward qualities of his being, Dr. Newton is of the mystical type rather than of the intellectual or moral. He is the saint rather than the prophet—the man who seeks personal communion with the Infinite in quiet places rather than leadership of the Infinite's cause on the fierce battlefields of life. When he says in his letter to the Memorial Church of St. Paul, in Philadelphia, "Since I learned to know the Episcopal church in England in the blazing days of war, something deep in me has responded to its sweet and tempered ways," much of the secret is revealed. Such days as those which shook the world in 1914-18 were not for men of this type; they killed Dr. Jowett, they have driven Dr. Newton to the sanctuary. Then, outwardly, there is Dr. Newton's career, which has been strangely baffling. He won his fame at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, where he achieved one of the most notable ministries in the religious history of the middle West. When he was called, early in the days of the Great War, to the great pulpit of the City Temple, in London, he faced the most remarkable opportunity that has come to any clergyman in our generation. But something went wrong—just what, nobody seems to know. There simply stands the fact that the opportunity came to nothing, and Dr. Newton was soon back in this country accepting a call to the Universalist Church of the Divine Paternity in New York. This also was a fine opportunity, but again nothing came of it. Dr. Newton made little impression upon the city, and now retires to the seclusion of an Episcopalian altar. This is a story for the psychologist, not the editor, and, if unravelled, would explain much. Meanwhile we may well gasp at what Dr. Newton says about the Episcopal church. He calls it "the roomiest church in Christendom," which is hard on Christendom! For where is the room for Dr. Crapsey, Dr. Grant, Bishop Brown, and other great but heretical souls? He speaks of "one church," and "a great fellowship," when Episcopacy is rent in twain by conflicts between High and Low, Catholic and non-Catholic, Fundamentalist and Modernist. How easily we delude ourselves when we have reasons for doing so!

Academic Freedom

The Scopes trial was the most dramatic incident in the struggle for academic freedom which has been witnessed in many a decade. Most of the test cases in recent years which have attracted public attention have been concerned with men teaching in private colleges where the issues are not so clearly drawn. But here was a clear case, for the public welfare is obviously at stake when the public school system is directly controlled and dictated to by a public legislature.

This problem which is thus raised in Tennessee, Georgia, Kentucky, Oregon and other states should give us grave concern because if the forces of reaction win in some localities, they will be strengthened and encouraged to carry their warfare into other sections, until we shall be threatened on all sides. The Scopes case was and still is serious and significant because its issue reaches beyond any provincial sphere and will undoubtedly develop national importance.

The public should be deeply interested in this case, because it raises the fundamental issue as to whether we are going to have free access to truth, and where we are to be able to find it. Surely there is nothing more important than that. If we cannot find truth, what hope is there for progress, for peace, for civilization itself?

We naturally look to three great sources for truth; namely, the school, the press and the pulpit. We know that the press has been increasingly given over to propaganda, to one-sided statement and to repression. We know that the sectarian church assumes possession of a closed system of truth and therefore does not encourage truth-seeking in all departments of human interest. It thus remains for the school to champion absolutely free truth. If it surrenders, the greatest machinery for arousing devotion to truth and for spreading truth, has been destroyed.

This is too serious a possibility to allow one single encroachment upon liberty without an heroic struggle. Public education lies at the basis of a true democracy. True democracy puts its faith in education. Education puts its faith in true democracy. The two processes are but phases of one reality. They cannot exist apart.

Each stakes its life in the other. When one is curtailed, the other is thwarted. If one goes down, the other is dragged down with it.

Free truth, in a free school, is the bulwark of a free people.

Every tyranny begins in suppressing truth. No tyranny can continue long with truth. Our ultimate hope is in maintaining truth in education, in press and in pulpit.

Every individual has some responsibility in this matter. For convenience, we may divide people into four groups: the public, the administrators of education, the teachers and the taught. Briefly, their respective duties are as follows:

First, it is the responsibility of the public, both as unofficial laymen and as public officials, to preserve the school from becoming the instrument of one group, one idea, one class. Public education is dedicated to the service of all. The moment it becomes the tool of any closed system of thought, that moment it ceases to be the servant of all. There is no escaping the fact that any school system which is dominated, controlled, used for propaganda purposes, thereby ceases to merit the confidence of free men. In so far, then, as the public, individually and collectively, wants education to serve all, it must learn to guard the schools' independence with the same jealousy with which it guards its own liberties. It must fight against every restriction placed upon the untrammeled pursuit of truth, no matter where that truth may lead. It must resent tyranny of mind more than any other kind of tyranny. It must care more for truth than for government, trade, or any institution. The public must face the duty of maintaining one organization inviolate and consecrated.

Secondly, the administrators of education must realize that in conducting the business which is entrusted to them, they are not in the position of the usual business man who hires an employee to perform a certain definite task in a prescribed manner. It is sometimes said that the owner of a house has a right to tell the painter whether he shall paint the building red, green, or yellow, and, on that analogy, that the officials of schools have perfect freedom to dictate to teachers what doctrines shall be taught. But the analogy breaks down absolutely. In one case, a man owns a property, and he has a right to have his property treated in a certain way, according to taste. But in the other case, the administrators are not owners of other peoples' minds, nor are they the ultimate judges of truth. Their business is to see that truth is made available, that students can have access to the various theories and interpretations. Their duty is so to administer a public trust that it shall render the service of truth-seeking to all. Theirs is not to judge what is true. Theirs is to provide the mechanisms which shall most encourage both teacher and pupil in a mutual quest for law and truth. Dictation and arbitrary selection by officials would therefore seem unwarranted. Theirs not to say what shall be or shall not be taught. Theirs to see to it that minds are quickened and made eager.

Third, the teacher! Upon him rests a great responsibility for his opportunity is great. He has unusual opportunity for misusing his position for propaganda purposes; and when he does that, he sins as truly as any administrator who does the same thing. Teaching is never propaganda, either for, or against. True teaching is a process of discovering truth, awakening a reverence for truth, and developing the intellectual character of the student. The teacher is not a neuter. He is not without great convictions and enthusiasms. But he is above all things *fair*. He dreads the closed mind, and the closed system. He looks upon the processes of life as fluid, and he realizes the relativity of the personal approach to knowledge. It is his high calling to present "the rounded catalog, divine, complete" and thus help the student to "see life steadily and see it whole."

He must resist the temptation to superimpose his ideas upon those of a student. Mr. Bryan was right when he said that evolution should not be taught as an absolutely proved fact. But Mr. Bryan ought to follow the logic of his stand, and insist that the Bible should not be taught as an absolutely proved system of geology, astronomy, philosophy and morals.

The true teacher is a free man. As Dr. Meiklejohn recently declared, it is not so much the function of the teacher to tell the student *what* he must think, as it is to see to it that the student is aroused to think. With this purpose in mind, the teacher has a hard duty to face, but it is a noble one.

Last, the taught! In the past, students have been more or less inert under the process of education. They have meekly bowed under whatever authority has been superimposed upon them. But today, they are beginning to see that they have rights which must be respected. In some cases, they are organizing protests and strikes against some of the acts of injustice which have been perpetrated against them. This is a hopeful sign, for it shows that students are beginning to be conscious of the part they should play in educational economy.

But the taught should do more than merely rebel against wrong, which is always more or less easy. They have the duty of encouraging and co-operating with right. Few students realize how much their attitude affects the teacher. Someone has written of the "creative listener" with reference to music, showing that when an audience is appreciative, it has its effect upon the player. This is true in every profession, as in acting or preaching. It is also supremely true in teaching. The co-operation and response of the student is a very large part of the process. We are beginning to see today, that the school, like the home and the state, is a true democracy. It is a give and take.

It is the duty of the student to realize that he has a contribution of attitude and encouragement to make toward all truth-seeking. He is not simply inert. He is an active part of the whole process. His discriminating encouragement is of utmost importance. The student's estimate of a teacher's worth is apt to be accurate. His response to what is fair, earnest, and true in the teacher helps to mould the leader's method. The taught thus truly teaches!

There is then, clearly, a duty in this question of academic freedom laid upon every one of us. We must not stand aside and see free truth assailed, complacently trusting that it will "come out well in the end." We must each see to it that it *does* thus come out well!

CLARENCE R. SKINNER.

Jottings

Opinion in favor of prohibition continues to pile up. William Allen White declares that under prohibition the consumption of liquor has been reduced at least 50 per cent. W. G. Shepherd, who has been conducting an investigation for *Collier's Weekly,* concludes that America is consuming only one-fourth as much liquor as formerly. Here are samples of the only testimony worth while—that which compares the present situation with the situation before the 18th Amendment was adopted!

Leningrad, practically dead eighteen months ago, is now throbbing with activity. . . . The houses are being furiously repaired, the population has increased fully fifty per cent, formerly comatose factories are working, and new buildings are rising apace.—Walter Duranty, in the New York *Times* (September 11).

Terrible fellows, these Bolsheviks; and the Soviet government, obviously, a failure!

Georg Brandes, in a recent issue of *Prager Tagblatt,* quoted in the *Living Age,* pays noble tribute to the late E. D. Morel. He describes him as "politically the most enlightened man in England" in his time, and states that he was "prematurely snatched from us . . . by the inhuman treatment he suffered during the war."

The United States will not be allowed to criticize France's domestic expenditures, especially military, in the negotiations for a settlement of the French debt to America.—Paris despatch in the New York *Times.*

Certainly not! Millions of francs spent by France for imperialistic wars in Morocco and Syria, millions of francs spent for the support of huge standing armies in Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia and Poland, millions of francs spent for military airplanes at home —what has all this got to do with America? Who is America, anyway? Only a creditor who is receiving not even the interest on his loans, that's all!

In his "Recollections," now being published in various newspapers, the late Thomas R. Marshall says of the Vice-Presidency,

Since the days of John Adams there has been a dread and fear that some Vice-President of the United States would break loose and raise Hell and Maria with the Administration.

Well, "Hell and Maria" has arrived in the Vice-Presidency, and he has broken loose. It remains to be seen what he is going to do with the Administration.

Dr. Fosdick's sermon at Geneva before the League of Nations was a great utterance. Its sublime periods marked the preacher as in the true succession of the prophets. Impressive throughout, the sermon was in no place more impressive than where it flung forth the challenge, "outlaw war altogether." J. H. H.

American Notes

(Editorial Correspondence)

I.

The way an American city takes a Knights Templar parade that I witnessed yesterday is interesting. I do not need to describe the Knights Templar, the order is well known throughout the world. Its members are successors of those knights who had so much to do during the Crusades, when they wandered forth to wrest the tomb of Christ from the profaning "hand of the infidel" and to "protect the pilgrims" en route to the "Holy Land." (Our Western histories do not tell much of the blood these holy warriors shed, while performing their holy task, nor of the "Alsace-Lorraines" and "Balkans" they started, which, like the poor, are still with us, producing their harvests of death, famine, hatred and general deviltry—this is not the time to suggest these unpleasant memories.) I was interested in the way this American city, Seattle, clear on the rim of the Western continent, handled these 20,000 Knights, who with their wives and daughters descended upon it.

A fund of $200,000 was first raised, for good entertainment is now regarded by American cities as good advertisement. The citizens have been duly advised to "clean the decks." Houses are painted, lawns mowed and things generally tidied up, to get ready for the guests, since these thousands from all the states of the Union will carry home reports of the "charmed land." Prayers even are made that good—not "unusual" weather will be sent by the powers that be. And so far this week splendid weather has been regnant.

This is evidence to the people of a young American city that God is with them. They are keenly anxious to prove that "this is God's country." And this city of 400,000 was certainly beautified. Great arches—nearly

as imposing as the Arc de Triomphe—cover the main thoroughfares. Cluster-globes, painted as torches, line the streets. Hundreds of huge red crosses, illuminated at night, are suspended over the center of the streets. On top of the fifteen story hotel, the "Olympic", is placed a mammoth cross, played upon at night by streams of light. In the parade of three hours or more, when passed 8,000 plumed knights hoving from Maine to California (those from California on horses), 4 states being represented, 35 bands with instruments totaling 1400—the knights displayed themselves skilled in maneuvers! Practically the whole city blocked to the downtown district, covering the hill-tops and sidewalks, in tens of thousands.

With a field glass I let my eye roam over the city streets. Never have I seen so many automobiles parked, tens and tens of thousands of them, some of them at least a mile from the scene of the parade. (Nearly 18,-000,000 autos now in America.) Rather striking, the most popular air played by the 15 bands was "Onward, Christian Soldiers." And there were plenty of other religious airs, although the band of the Joseph Warren chapter from Boston played consistently, from beginning to end of march, "Yankee Doodle." Much more striking in my opinion is the way the Cross has worked its way into American decorations. It was everywhere, in ornaments, in advertisements, in press, one newspaper for example carrying on its front page a huge red cross running from top to bottom. The city was fairly plastered with crosses. This is something rather recent for America, and what it indicates I am at a loss to know. I am looking for the style to spread and to see a multiplication of huge business concerns surmounted by the cross. There are not wanting business men who think "religion can be put over." Does it all mean a conversion of business to religion? This cross-plastered city with its great parade, based on the cross and with bands playing religious airs has raised the question, which also came to the front last night when I witnessed the "Wayfarer."

The "Wayfarer" is a pageant-play, constructed on huge dimensions. Rev. J. E. Crowther is author. He is a Methodist pastor and son of an English miner. The play has been presented in Columbus, Ohio, at a national conference of the Methodist church, twice before in Seattle and once in Los Angeles. I saw it last night for the first time in the stadium of the university of Washington (state)—a huge concrete bowl capable of seating 30,000 people. There is no covering for the audience. Football games are often held in this stadium.

The "Wayfarer" is somewhat after the style of the Passion Play of Oberammergau, and the motive is to portray the wanderings of a human who through "Experience" (Miss Beatrice, a woman guide) finds the solution of the problem of life in the Crucifixion and Risen Christ. There are five episodes, starting with a scene of battle and carnage and closing with the scene of the "Golden Age" when 10,000 people after marching around the Bowl are massed around the stage, at one end of the oval. As at Oberammergau there is a Prolocutor who in this Play happens to be J. S. Herbsman, a man with a big voice that carries to everyone of the 25,000 in the audience. The "Wayfarer" is Rev. Cleveland Kleihaurer, a Disciples Minister, who made them all hear, with his naked voice, and who acts well. I sat all through from 7:30 to 11:30 p. m. and gladly bear witness that it is a magnificent spectacle. The lighting was stunning and effective.

The 5,000 actors showed much training, which is remarkable when one considers that the most of the service was a "labor of love." The music, such as the "Hallelujah Chorus," "Comfort Ye" "By Rivers of Babylon" and hymns like "Abide with Me," "Lead, Kindly Light" and "Adeste Fideles"—sung while the vast audience were sitting in the darkness—was very moving. And the scenes in the different episodes which depicted the Hebrew captivity, the Birth of Christ, the Entry, Crucifixion (though the author did not see fit to show the face of Jesus), the Resurrection—all these scenes with the lighting, the marching, the acting, the scenery, were most effective and of course on a big scale. The "moral" of the play—for one can not forget the fact that a preacher wrote it—is to show that the Wayfarer finds, as depicted in the last scene, that the Cross is the solution of the problem of life, and around a huge cross the thousands of earth are clustered. . . .

I came home at midnight with conflicting emotions. I had been deeply moved by the music, by the weirdness of the scenery, the long reach through history in an attempt to find a way to the secret of life, as depicted by the "Wayfarer." The marching soldiers, the wailing of the Hebrews in Babylon—all the numerous spectacles were really magnificent and each in itself presented thought and inspiration. What troubled me, almost in my dreams, was the appearance in many places of what I would name superficiality. It is largely a show of religion. Is the truth of the Cross (as in the parade), the heart of Christianity, that life is to be won through sacrifice grasped? Or, have the great Christian ideals been materialized and exploited, and what I saw simply a pageant-play? Are Americans entering upon an era of "putting religion over"?

I confess I was spiritually depressed, as I recalled that the query of the Wayfarer started with witnessing a battle scene which filled him with horror (I could understand his reaction) but the very last scene—after the journey through Babylon on to the Resurrection—was that of an elevated Cross and prominently in the foreground was the Stars and Stripes, with Columbia attired as goddess, and also in the foreground were troops of soldiers all in armor, etc.—exhibition of the same forces and personalities that had produced the carnage of the first scene—I could not exclaim as W. T. Stead exclaimed after he had witnessed the Passion Play, "This is the story that has transformed the world, and will transform it yet." For, what had started so well ended in Nationalism and Militarism.

What I have been seeing these few days has awakened the query, Are Americans—who seem to be showing such interest in things religious—getting beyond the form and the spectacular? I confess I do not know. In many ways they appear to be, as Tagore some years ago said, "like children." If this is so, it carries with it both hope and danger. I feel that America has much to learn from the East. Will she have the mind to learn?

III.

What are the American people thinking these days about China—their "sister-republic" across the Pacific? In the first place, it may be said that Americans have always "liked" the Chinese. The average American will generally begin by saying, "A Chinese is more honest than a Japanese"—and if you press him he will add, "Yes, he is more honest than an American, too." The

average American plumes himself that America has been more fair in her dealings with China than have been Britain, Japan or Russia. The return of a part of the Boxer indemnity will be cited by Americans for a hundred years as an act of super-erogation, worthy to be mentioned at St. Peter's gate. (Americans are not noting that Russia has lately gone her not only one but many times better.) Americans do however admit that they have been better in China probably because not so sorely tempted. In other words, America's interests in China have been comparatively slight.

I attended a mass meeting last week, on the Pacific coast, called to express sympathy with the Chinese in their struggle for freedom. It was held in a prominent, down-town Congregational church and on a call issued to the general public. The room was full. A collection of about a hundred dollars was taken, to be sent to the protesting Chinese. Among the speakers were the managing editor of a local daily, a leader in the Central Labor Council, and a representative clergyman. The speaker however that engaged the most attention was Y. Y. Tsang, president of the Chinese student club, as he described the industrial conditions; the average wage being ten cents a day, the hours of toil from 12 to 14, with even worse conditions for women and children. He said in splendid English that the cause of the strike was the demand for an increase of 2 cents a day. He declared that China has no antipathy for foreigners, but Chinese do object to being murdered by foreign police. They want freedom of action in their own country. All the trouble can be traced, he said, to unjust treaties, mixed courts and the rights of a sovereign people being trampled upon by outsiders.

Resolutions were unanimously and heartily adopted —and I think these resolutions would express the opinion of seven-eighths of the American people—that all extra-territorial rights, special privileges and all unequal treaties should be abolished; that all armed foreign forces should be immediately withdrawn; that China should be left free to work out her own solution of industrial problems, such as child labor, 12-hour day and the right to organize. Apart from all trade and industrial interests, the American people would be almost unanimous in their belief that the Chinese were a great and civilized nation and as such were entitled to a square deal, that the most of China's troubles have come from foreign intrusion, that not for one minute would America tolerate the indignities and injustices that were heaped upon China by outsiders, that outsiders ought simply to take their hands off, and the sooner the better.

Very little stock is taken in the intimation that China's troubles are due to Soviet influences and propaganda. There are plenty of reasons nearer home, it is said, to account for the troubles. While Americans do not for the most part believe in Chinese immigration; nevertheless they are really "fond" of the Chinese and would resent much injustice being perpetrated upon them. Practically all the Americans returning from the Orient (and the number is large and increasing) are enthusiastic over the Chinese. They insist that they should be fairly treated. SYDNEY STRONG.

Is There Moral Value in War?

"The Moral Value of War," by George W. Hinman, Jr., in the July *Forum* calls out our question. Many will deny many of the claims in this discussion. More will say it is one-sided, that it does not admit of any immoral or anti-moral values in past wars.

But suppose we admit all he claims as to the moral value of the wars that have been? Does he make any contribution concerning the wars to come? Does he really touch the war and peace problem of today? Has he any real message or plea if we "Let the dead past bury its dead," and remember that "New occasions teach new duties"?

It is the facts, principles, moral developments, human relations, world conditions of the year 1925, not of "untold aeons ago," that we have to meet.

We have in war an age-long, world-wide, legalized, and glorified institution and system and method. Religion, morals, the influence of churches, and the prayers of saints have often been on the side of war. It will be well to remember here that piracy and polygamy, duelling and slavery, etc., have had the same defenders.

We are living today under a sanctioned war regime. It is as legal now for France and Germany to go to war again, to kill each other in battle, as to buy goods of each other. Laws, rules, regulations, codes, courts, diplomacy, and treaties, all reckon with or make room for the profession and the use of arms. But all this is neither an argument nor a justification for future wars. To say what has been must be, is mental stagnation and moral suicide. No discussion of war now is fair or intelligent that does not take in the following facts:

The progress in the art and science of killing each other. War, with bow and arrow and spear, or even muzzle loading shotguns, was almost a pastime and a healthy exercise as compared with the trench and airship bomb, and poison gas of today.

The near annihilation of space, the close relationship of the world in business, the community of interests among the people, the new demand in international diplomacy, the emphasis of the single standard of morals for the nation and the person, all have their vital bearing now on war.

A better knowledge of what have been the real forces of civilization has come, and with it a rejection of that juvenile claim "That nations in the past have prospered as they have warred," or that "Material advantages, general progress, inventive genius, medicine, surgery, owe most to war."

That there have been heroisms and discipline, a certain type of brotherhood, "the will to win, the strength to endure, and the courage to die," in past wars, is admitted, but is met by the intelligent conviction now that the heroes and heroisms of peace immeasurably outnumber and outshine the heroes and heroisms of war.

A new estimate of a human being, a new value on human life, a new creed as to the needs of childhood and the rights of womanhood, and the demands of brotherhood,—all these facts are to be reckoned with in any discussion of the moral, or any other value, in wars today.

But the deepest, most significant fact now is, a new or enlightened conscience toward war itself, war as a method of human relations. A new moral sense is saying that war is not something unavoidable or necessary

or inevitable. "Thou shalt not kill" to many means, thou shalt not kill each other as nations.

"I sing of arms" is not the popular song now. "The song of the flash of bayonets" is a feeble wail today as compared with the anti-war songs being heard. "War is wholesale murder," "Mechanical massacre," "Monumental idiocy," "The sum of all vallainies against the people," "The mightiest disease germ any species of life has ever confronted," "The stench of our civilization," "The denial of Christianity," "The crowning curse of the world"—these are now common labels for war.

All this means a new ethic on war. It asks, not what has been said or done about war but what ought we to say and do? Not, has it ever been a noble and needed profession, but is it now? Not, has war at times been the only possible way of adjusting differences, but is it now? Not, have there been righteous causes and principles involved in war, but can we find a better way to bring justice and righteousness? Not, has there ever been any moral value in war, but is there now?

Here is the challenge of our generation. This is the latest ethic on war. It does not discuss the possible steps toward an alleviation or lessening or ceasing of wars, but it is a conversion about war itself. The moral value of war has now to meet and measure itself with a new creed about war. It reads, "I believe that in international relations, nations should change from laws and rules of and for war, to organic laws against war. That war as a way of settling controversies between nations must be made a crime under the laws of nations, and the war system of the world be outlawed and abolished."

The moral value in the outlawry of war as compared with the moral value of war as it is now planned and executed is the world's foremost moral issue. The creeds of war and of outlawry are as different as light and darkness, as far apart as love and hate. "I believe in God the Father and man the brother," can no more be put into the war system of today, without killing it, than poison gas can be made a tonic for the soldier's life today.

The rising tide of outlawry is the real answer now to the question, is the war system of today moral? Outlawry is born of the people. "The cannon's prey has begun to think!" Nations are beginning to see that the Beelzebub of war cannot cast out the devils of wars. Never before in history has the war system been challenged and discredited as now. The profession of arms—the glory in killing each other is fast making way for the man in the workman's blouse helping his world neighbor.

This is becoming the verdict on war. It is the most sane and cheering and ethical sign of the times. There is no other fact or institution in the world today that has in it the tyranny of the past, and the blindness toward the present, and future that war has. It breeds distrust and fear and hatred between nations. It forces to the front a false and brutal authority. It forgets childhood, degrades womanhood, and repudiates brotherhood. The morals of war as now carried on, are the morals of "tooth and claw," the relics of barbarism. Its religion is the religion of superstition and dogmatism and imperialism and essential atheism.

The war system is on trial today at the bar of decency, common sense, material progress, clear thinking, social welfare, justice, and righteousness and Christianity. The "morals of war" is a myth, a contradiction for today. The outlawry of war is to be a fact tomorrow.

Lake Mills, Wisconsin. JOHN FAVILLE.

The Story of My Mind

XXV

It is by no means easy for a person who has been trained in the clerical profession to understand and assimilate the ideas and the principles of scientific socialism. Taught to accept an animistic conception of nature and mind, the full recognition of material and economic causes as determining the destinies of man as an industrial and as a social being on this planet, is grasped with great difficulty. I have seen many clergymen struggle with this new point of view, fail to apprehend its scope and its significance, modify it into harmony with their spiritual theory of man's nature and destiny, or give up the problem in despair. These men usually approached socialism from the utopian and idealistic point of view, with an enthusiasm and a glowing zeal delightful to behold, and with the deepest conviction that they had now found the true method for correcting our social ills, and for the real solution of life's problems.

For a few months they regard socialism with joy, devoted purpose, and readiness to make any sacrifices in its behalf. As these persons came into contact with the actual socialist movement and party it was inevitable that their enthusiasm should diminish or undergo a radical change. If their metaphysical theories could not be modified, they would lose their interest in socialism, and more firmly adhere to their theological convictions than before, if that is possible. It may be they would be able to modify their preconceptions to such a degree as to reconcile their theology and their new economic theories. In that case they would retain the two in more or less secure water-tight compartments, where they could not interfere with each other. As a third result, in a few instances, the metaphysical notions would be sloughed off, and the new philosophy would gain a more or less complete dominance.

These difficulties came to me in full measure. I did not grasp the full meaning of scientific socialism at once. In the transition period I made my way slowly, and sometimes with a good deal of agony of spirit. Fortunately, there were points of view presented by writers of great ability and originality, who aided the transition process in my case. For many years I had been attracted by the writings of John Ruskin, who formed the subject of one of the essays in my "Poets and Problems," published in 1886. theories of social reform, equally appealed to me.

In 1903 I was invited to speak on his work to the Ruskin Club of Boston, and promised to do so if I could deal with his economic and sociological teachings. When the program was presented to me, I found that I had been assigned to the task of giving eight monthly lectures at the regular sessions of the club. Somewhat reluctantly I undertook to guide the club in its study of these phases of Ruskin's teachings. The

club began the work of the season with about 35 members, which rapidly grew to nearly 100. Various personal ambitions and divergences of opinion amongst the members began to show results in a diminished membership and attendance. I was, under these circumstances, quite willing to withdraw at the end of the season, though the next year I gave before the club two lectures on the work of William Morris. When I indicated in one of my Ruskin lectures some of the psychological and other causes which favor conservatism and the slow development of social changes, some of my hearers protested that my contentions were greatly discouraging, and not favorable to a speedy reform of the world. I found that these good middle-class women anticipated a speedy righting of the wrongs and injustices of our civilization, but they had no definite conception as to how these sudden changes were to be brought about.

In January, 1905, I undertook to form a Tolstoy Society in Boston, which met in the parlors of the Theodore Parker Memorial building. I announced a course of talks on Tolstoy's philosophy, theory of state and church, religious beliefs, ethical teachings, doctrine of non-resistance, treatment of labor problems, attitude toward manual labor and dietetics, theory of marriage and position of woman, altruism, and art theories. The interest manifested in this project was small, the audience was never more than 25, and various circumstances led to a prompt abandonment of the attempt. The fact was that I had ceased to follow Tolstoy; it was by no means satisfactory to expound him, and at the same time protest against his philosophy and his sociology. The prospectus issued, and which had some recognition in the newspapers, may indicate that I had not as yet outgrown the motives and the convictions of my former life.

The Tolstoy Society

This society proposes to study the life, works, and theories of Tolstoy, and to do what it can to secure their recognition in the United States. It does not implicitly accept all his teachings, but it is in sympathy with their ethical intent. A reform of life in the direction of simplification, a renewal of the religious spirit for the sake of altruism and conformity of conduct to belief, and a revision of intellectual opinions, in order that they may harmonize with truth, are among the aims of the Society, these being the cardinal purposes of Tolstoy's teaching.

Among the methods used to extend Tolstoy's influence will be the publication and distribution of his reformatory works, the preparation of magazine articles and other interpretations of his teachings, the delivery of lectures expository of his ethical and religious opinions, and the formation of classes and societies for study of his works. The Society desires to enter into communication with all similar societies in the country and with individuals who may be interested in its purposes.

When the Christian Socialist Fellowship was formed at Louisville, in 1906, I was actively interested in its organization, though not able to be present at the initial meeting. I did attend the first regular session, held in Chicago the next year, acted as chairman throughout, and aided in the construction of the platform and constitution. I was again the chairman the succeeding year in New York, where the meetings were large and of notable importance. I was drawn to this movment, not so much because I felt that Christianity or any other religion was necessary to the progress of socialism, as because of a conviction that if the socialist party would succeed it must secure the co-operation of the men and women connected with the churches. At the same time, I hoped that the fellowship would offer me an opportunity to work for socialism in a more conciliatory spirit than was sometimes expressed, and on a broader platform of method and constructive aims, than were to be found in the socialist party itself. When the *Christian Socialist* began publication, in 1904, in Danville, and then in Chicago, I became a frequent contributor, and in its pages were published a considerable number of my addresses and lectures. After 1909, however, my interest in this phase of socialism gradually waned, partly because I was not able to attend the annual meetings, and partly because of a changing mental attitude on my part towards the questions involved in the existence of such an organization. The Christian name came to have a diminishing hold upon me, while the scientific point of view gained for me in scope and meaning.

The Rand School of Social Science was founded in New York, in 1906, and opened its sessions in October of that year. I was invited to give a course of lectures during the first year, and in the spring of 1907 I delivered there five lectures on "The Social Factors in the Evolution of Literature." In the spring of 1908 the subject of my five lectures was "Evolution and Socialism." I was informed that the hearing given me was larger than that of any other lecturer during the year, with the single exception of Professor Franklin H. Giddings of Columbia University. The experiment of bringing to the school lecturers from outside of New York and its immediate vicinity proved to have its disadvantages in the form of increased expenses and the difficulty of adjusting the delivery of the lectures to the regular work of the school. I regretted that these causes led to the abandonment of the attempt, for the School gave me an opportunity of expression I found attractive and helpful.

With the first Sunday of January, 1911, I began a course of lectures on Socialism in Boston under the auspices of the local Christian Socialist Fellowship. It soon developed that several of my hearers were not in sympathy with me on religious grounds. The result was that in the autumn I became the regular Sunday lecturer of the Boston School of Social Science, which had been organized in the early months of that year. It afforded me freedom from religious bias, and gave me an ample field for the expression of my scientific conclusions.

As the years have passed on I have slowly come to a better understanding of socialism, and I have grown to believe in it more confidently and appreciatively. I retain my individual convictions as to one or another socialist theory and practice; but the movement as a whole more and more appeals to me as one of great promise for the future. Its principles I now accept without hesitation, and its aims I approve as sound and legitimate in the highest degree.

I am not in the least inclined to reject individualism because I have become a socialist. Personal freedom, right of the individual to think, believe, and act for himself, has been won at too great a price to be cast aside at the behest of any collectivist theory. In fact, I am a socialist because I am an individualist. In existing society a small number of persons can enjoy a full measure of personal liberty—those who have wealth to command it or education to insure it. The great majority of men and women—most of the workers with hands and brains alike, and all the women except a favored group here and there—are not free

to think and act as they would. They are bound by the fetters of industrial and economic demand, by the limitations of education and training, and by the restrictions of religious belief. There is no promise whatever of their liberation from these restrictions by any political, social or educational processes now in operation. Such liberty must come by an education which is genuinely universal in its scope and methods, and which will give training to all who are born into the world, to the extent of their individual capacities. It can be had, too, only by the abolition of the slaveries of sex and wages, in order that all men and women may labor in the spirit of freedom, that is, co-operatively. As wisdom grows religion will be purified of its fetters on the mind and conscience. To secure these results—not for the fortunate few—but for all who live, there is no way open but that of the collective organization of society as a great co-operative process of all for each and each for all. At present the only definite and thoroughly organized interpretation of society proposing such a necessary result is Socialism. Therefore, I am a socialist in order that the fullest possible amount of individuality and freedom may be secured to all men and women capable of being trained in such a manner as to appreciate and use them.

(*To be continued.*)

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

Our Garden of Weeds

'Tis an unweeded garden that goes to seed; things rank and gross in nature possess it merely.—Hamlet.

The small puffy cloud, which some of us seem to sight on the distant horizon—no larger than a man's hand and which we have vaingloriously portended as the coming of the great peace-shower upon the face of the earth—may prove to be either a mirage or a windstorm. That is to be seen.

Pacifism is in style just now, after the great debauchment; it gives a definite thrill to the moral sense, which had gone to sleep for several years and now awakens. By peaceful platitudinizing we justify our previous war mania. We are motled jesters dancing before our conscience. It is the trick of back-slapping which sounds loud as the crack of doom, promotes a momentary good-feeling of fellowship, but passes with the next new-comer.

If we seriously intend to eliminate this little game of wholesale murder, commonly called "righteous and just war", we shall have to inaugurate another series of more just and righteous wars than the type first mentioned. These also may be fought with airplanes, submarines, bombs, and much gas but would not need the assistance of the Navy Department at Washington or other monarchies. Nor would the tender stabbings of the Lying Army be needed.

To make a list of these needed and to-be-appreciated innovations would require a ledger and a geologist of human conduct. In this short prelude to thought I shall mention only one of these little wars I would start in a man's backyard of ideas. I refer to his vegetable garden of words, from which he gains his nourishment, his strength, his change of diet, and ultimately his ptomaine poisoning.

If I wanted to end war and wanted to do it in earnest, I should begin to pull the weeds in this garden his lesson, "fight" for his team, "down the enemy", "strive for victory", "go over the top" in the contest, "beat" his "opponents", and trample "defeat" in the dust. He follows these suggestions quite literally.

On Sunday he goes to Sunday School. There he "abolishes" wickedness, sings lustily, "Fight for the Right", "Onward Christian Soldiers", "The King's Battle", and "Victory for the Lord." He is admonished to "wash in the blood", "follow the Commander", and "kill temptation". He manages to get the spirit without the letter and wipes up the street with another little "soldier of God's mighty army."

When he gets older and begins to read the daily and monthly "literature" he eats the summer vegetables from his garden. He is fed without sauce "destroy", "fight", "kill", "crush", "plunder", "combat" and thousands of other terms for coercion. In business he "wins", "forges ahead", "overcomes", "encounters", "strives", "battles", "despises", "fights against all odds to success."

He marries and they both "struggle along", "fighting the wolf" or other "enemies" in the form of poverty from their door. Sometimes the struggle does not end there.

But a constant "beating the adversary" it is from beginning to end. He thinks in war-terms. He consequently acts in them. Our very nomenclature is venom-tongued. How can anything written or spoken be warm with such atrophied qualities as human understanding, tolerance, peace, love, harmony, magnanimity, when we talk in terms of hate and pusillanimous bravado?

When we cease to be butcher-minded it is time then to talk of the "coming of a great and everlasting peace to all nations." While we are straining our eyes looking for the white cloud in the distance, our hands might be pulling some of the weeds in our own backyard.

SAMUEL MARION LOWDEN.

Treasures from Maine

Were I a wonder-worker, I would send you a box of treasures, typical of Maine. I would cut down a tall Norway pine, and make a box, putting it together with hand-wrought nails from these hundred-year-old barns. I would cover it with sheets of silvery birch, studded with barnacles. Inside should go star-fish, sea-urchins, beautiful snail-shells, sword-fish. In the top you would find sketches of gleaming white houses, against dark pine groves, and of wharves, left a dozen feet out of water when the tide is out. I would have to put in a few records of the witty sayings of these old fisher-folk. I would send you paintings of the glorious sunsets over Blue Hill and far, far away views of vessels and lobster men. I would wrap this box in folds and folds of fog, as it comes drifting in from the sea; the bow should be of the wisps of fog which catch on the branches of the tall pines and I would float it off to you!

M. T. W.

THE STUDY TABLE

The Story of An Outlaw*

"The Twenty-fifth Man" is an extraordinary book. In it, "Ed." Morrell, the last survivor of a band of famous outlaws, tells the story of his life. It is a story stranger than fiction. Governor Hunt of Arizona contributes a preface in which he pays a tribute to the author, and testifies that in the West honest and hard-working settlers were driven into outlawry after being robbed of their homes and farms through the crooked tactics of the great railroads.

The book combines interest of many kinds. It has interest for the student of character, for it is the life-history of a very remarkable man. It has interest for the lover of tales of wild adventure, in which the exploits of the outlaws described here abound. It has interest for the friends of prison reform, for it tells of atrocious cruelties in California prisons. It has a strong interest for students of the latent powers of the human mind, and the development of our subconscious faculties. Last but not least, it has interest for those who believe, like Gandhi, in the spiritual triumph of love over hate.

In the San Quentin prison, Morrell was not only condemned to "the dungeon" for life, for a daring attempt to escape, but was falsely accused by a stool-pigeon of knowing where a quantity of arms were hidden away for future use by the prisoners. To make him reveal this secret, he was repeatedly tortured by the "Pirate's Overcoat," a straitjacket something like that described by Charles Reade in "Never Too Late to Mend."

After his first imprisonment in this infernal machine, as he lay in a deep stupor, bruised and broken, he went through a series of strange mental experiences. At last he seemed to come into a room where all those who had treated him cruelly were undergoing the same tortures to which they had subjected him. He had hated them before, but now he pitied them. He tore at their bonds and set them free. Then he felt a great sense of peace; and a voice said to him:

> You have learned the unreality of pain, and hence of fear. You have learned the futility of trying to fight off your enemies with hatred. From today a new life-vista will open up, and you will fight from a far superior vantage point. Your weapon will henceforth be the sword of love, and as time progresses and your power unfolds, this new weapon will cut away all the evil forces which now oppose you. Even the straitjacket will have no terrors for you. It will only be a means to greater things. Your life from now on must be a work of preparation: and when the time is ripe for your deliverance, you will know it. The proof will be a power to prophesy to your enemies not only the day of your relase from this dungeon, but also from the prison.

He awoke a new man, in a new world. All hatred had left his heart. He gradually developed such a power of self-hypnosis that when subjected to torture he lost all consciousness of his body, and could project his mind out into the world, going up and down in freedom, enjoying the beauties of nature and watching the ways of men. On one of these excursions he entered a schoolhouse, and took notice of the young girl who later became his wife. In after years he told some of these experiences to Jack London, who embodied them in his story, "The Star Rover." Above all, Morrell visited in the spirit innumerable prisons, saw how bad they were, and studied out a better way of dealing with the inmates.

After a time, the conviction was borne in upon him that within 24 hours he would be released from the dungeon, and in four years from the prison. So it proved. A new warden had reviewed his case, and come to the conclusion that he had been unjustly condemned. He took Morrell out of solitary confinement, and later put him in charge of the other prisoners as "Head Trusty"—a charge that he carried out with marked success, until, after four years, his pardon came.

Since then, Morrell has devoted himself to urging, with power and eloquence, and before many great audiences, the substitution of the honor system in our prisons for the old system of terror and punishment. To this end he has organized, with the help of Dr. Raymond S. Ward, a society called "The American Crusaders." Governor Hunt, in the preface, stresses the need of radical improvement in most of our prisons. He says:

> The tragic consequences, and the price society must pay as a result of the unintelligent method of dealing with crimes and those guilty of violating the laws of society, are appalling. The stark cruelty, the unrestrained hatred and passion, the unreasoning desire for revenge and punishment, and the unsympathetic attitude toward problems affecting the reformation of the criminally inclined, makes progress in this line necessarily slow; and it is the work of such men as Ed. Morrell and the document he has prepared of his experiences, which will help most toward bringing about a day of better understanding.

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.

A True Poet

Professor Leonard is a true poet. Not afraid of the newer poetic forms of our day, he knows the values and beauties of the older forms too well to cast them aside. He seems especially to appreciate the sonnet, and uses it as an ordinary stanza-form with superb effect.

Of the poems in this volume*—a worthy successor to the author's immensely important earlier volume, "The Lynching Bee"—the larger number have to do with "People," to use the poet's own word. We would rather describe them as "personal," since they are poems, many of them in lyric form, expressive of Professor Leonard's own intimate reactions on experiences. These experiences center upon persons—the late President Van Hise, a "Latin Scholar," M. S. S., the unearthed Pharaoh, Tutankhamen, others nameless—but it is the poet himself, rather than his "People," who invariably interests us. Four other poems in the volume are grouped under the heading "Books." Of these the sonnet-stanzas on William Shakespeare seem to us to be the finest achievement of this poet's inspiration; on a hackneyed subject he has said something not only fresh but beautiful and thrilling. The remaining poems are headed "Wars." One of these is a superb depiction of the Quaker pacifist as set over against the background of armies and fighting. Another is a noble tribute to the "Beggar," Herbert Hoover. Still another is an unforgettable and much-needed comment on the soldier statues with which we clutter up our city squares and village greens, to work the fell magic of militarism on "generation after generation."

Professor Leonard is sparing of his work. He publishes seldom; much of his best writing is still unpublished. But better quality than quantity! The little that we get is precious, and worth waiting for.

J. H. H.

* "The Twenty-fifth Man," by Ed. Morrell. New Era Publishing Co., Montclair, N. J.

* "Tutankhamen and After," by William Ellery Leonard. Published by B. W. Huebsch, New York.

CORRESPONDENCE

GERMANS TO FRENCHMEN

Editor of UNITY:

A letter from a German at Lyons to the *Berliner Zeitung* illustrates the differences between Germans and Frenchmen with almost classic simplicity. He writes:

"For eight days now every French man and woman has been asking five questions of me:

"1. Why don't the Germans pay?

"2. Will you make war on us again?

"3. When are you going to bring back the Kaiser?

"4. Can't you give us the recipe for the rentenmark? (the new German money which stabilized the currency.)

"5. Why aren't the other 'Boches' like you?

"Sometimes these questions vary in the sequence, but they are always the same. I have arranged set answers for them:

"1. We have paid you already more than we had. That is why the old mark dropped below zero. If you had kept the money instead of squandering it on commissions and occupation armies you would be better off. Incidentally we were asked for more money than exists in the whole world.

"2. We don't dream of 'making war' on you, but would like you to stop making war on us and withdraw your troops from Germany.

"3. We will never bring the Kaiser back; the majority of Germans consist of Republicans.

"4. If you want to imitate the rentenmark you must bid goodbye to your government bonds and the interest on them. Ours are worth less than one per cent.

"5. The other 'Boches' are as much like me as the other French people are like you."

O. D. TOLISCHUS.

REVOLUTION IN ENGLAND

(From a Personal Letter)

". . . I wonder how you feel about Baldwin and his Government! Here it is most terribly condemned, and I should think he would feel far from optimistic. Winston Churchill has cried 'economy,' and they have foisted bigger expenses on the taxpayers than ever. . . . Two disgusting capitulations before threats! First, when the Admiralty threatened to resign if its program did not go through; and, secondly, his complete surrender to the miners. Every one says that the 10,000,000 pounds asked for won't begin to cover the expense, and together with the new Pension Bill and the cruisers, the taxes will inevitably be raised, and every one says that this means death to industry. I find England very pessimistic on the future. All say that her entire industrial life is crumbling, and they cannot see what the future will bring.

"It is agreed that Baldwin's capitulation to the miners was a fatal blunder, and that before the winter is out, railway men and other unions will strike to paralyze the Government, and Baldwin has set an impossible precedent. I hear 'social revolution' at every turn, and the man in the street is sure it is not far off. The miners are organizing for that and a struggle must come sooner or later. As far as I can make out, they feel that the Government should have faced the issue at this time, and fought it out. The moderate Socialists and labor men, like Macdonald, feel that the decision was fatal. Their group feels that the extremists, like Cooke, must be put down, as they are leading to utter ruin. This is all I can gather thus far from those I come in contact with. Poor England, I fear she is in for it."

Blair Athol, Scotland. M.

[How glad England must be that she won the war!—J. H. H.]

A CRITICISM—AND A REPLY!

Editor of UNITY:

It is distressing to see the cause of reaction and intolerance supported by the sincere friends of freedom and light. I have never been able to understand UNITY's anxiety about the sectarian divisions in a religion which it denounces as the greatest evil of our day, the chief obstruction to the coming of a free religion of brotherhood.

UNITY ably exposes the paganism of Bishop Manning and of his cathedral project; but it utterly fails to indicate that the bishop is but doing the only logical thing if he wishes to remain a bishop and raise the money to build the cathedral. He is altogether true to the historic principles of his Church and to the wishes of his constituency.

UNITY joins the *Christian Register* in raising a hullabaloo about the exclusion of Bishop Brown from the pulpit of a New York Episcopalian church. Will UNITY kindly tell us of a community church, other than the one of which its editor is the distinguished minister, in which Bishop Brown's preaching would be welcomed?

Does the *Christian Register* not recognize that in the professedly much more liberal Unitarian fellowship a man holding Bishop Brown's views on the affairs of this life would be no more popular than he is in the Episcopal Church? and that until the name of such a man as the far less radical Henry W. Pinkham is taken off the Unitarian black list it would be in much better taste for the *Register* to refrain from throwing stones at the Episcopalians? The Unitarians have too much fantastic glassware lying around to indulge in such sport.

UNITY is grieved to the heart over the intolerant attitude of the Presbyterians and then it grieves because we cannot all get into the same church with those bigoted, hell-fire predestinationists and have a real brotherly time.

UNITY has been insisting that in a community church people of opposing creeds can get along together. What about a Presbyterian of Mr. Bryan's type in such a church? Mr. Bryan really believed what Presbyterianism is supposed to stand for and acted accordingly, and it seems that UNITY thinks that people of opposing religious principles may get along very well in the same church provided that they do not take those principles at all seriously. It would be just as reasonable to expect the Republicans, Democrats, Socialists and Communists to give up their separate organizations on the ground that they promote division and strife, and all get into one big party for the good of all the people. UNITY's Community Church Program has Pollyanna beaten a mile.

But a community church such as UNITY talks about would be an interesting experiment. It would be worth while to watch a Sunday school in which one class was being taught by a sincerely militant hundred percenter of the Ku Klux variety, a second by a pacifist Socialist, a third by a thorough-going Humanist, and still another by a Presbyterian Fundamentalist. Yet I fancy that it would not be a very safe place for one who had not had some experience in taking care of himself at a Donnybrook fair. Why not be fair and admit that the Fundamentalists are behaving with much greater restraint than one might expect from people holding such views?

Nor can I agree with UNITY that "the denominational revival following the civil war" did not bring with it a better type of Unitarian church. Prior to that Unitarianism was narrowly parochial and smugly intolerant, as witness its attitude towards Emerson and Parker. It would be well to read John Fiske's account of the dry rot that was eating the heart out of New England Unitarianism before 1860, and how Dr. Huntington's defection was one of the things that awoke it and saved it from extinction.

In a sense, it is not too much division which we have but too little, of an honest nature. Too much denominationalism that is held together for the sake of jobs and getting along smoothly, and too little of the spirit that is not afraid to come out and be separate. We need a new and honest realignment.

Orthodox Protestantism sometimes gets together and the results lead one to pray, "From any more such union good Lord deliver us." It gets together to back a Billy Sunday revival or "to win the war." Because certain allied interests succeeded so well in defeating the Child Labor amendment is not a good reason for trying to get them to conduct a campaign for greater freedom of speech or for the outlawry of war. A union of American Protestantism, in the present state of mind of the vast majority of Protestants, is the very last thing that America or the world needs. Were such a union to be effected it would be high time for all outside that union to hunt a dug-out.

Linesville, Pa. ERNEST M. WHITESMITH.

[Our friend, Mr. Whitesmith, is wrong in his idea as to what a community church is, in his idea as to what UNITY presents as a community church program. The description presented in this letter can only be described as a burlesque.

Mr. Whitesmith is also wrong in his idea that UNITY expects, or ever has expected, the community church to spring full-grown out of the existing body of Protestantism. We have never imagined that it could be built out of the existing fabric either of the churches or of our society at large. Vast changes must take place before the true community church can come. We quote from a statement by Dr. Harvey Dee Brown in a pamphlet entitled "Sociological Aspects of a Commuity Church"—"A church of this kind cannot be handed down to a modern

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The Forum offers an opportunity to hear experts in various fields of thought. Speakers are chosen who are unhindered by prejudice and a *Free* platform is maintained.

Program

October 9—A. Eustace Haydon
Evolution and Religion
Dr. Haydon is Assistant Professor of Comparative Religion in the University of Chicago, member editorial board American Review, frequent contributor to the Journal of Religion and other magazines.

October 16—Edward Cary Hayes
The International State of Mind
Professor of Sociology at the University of Illinois, formerly President Illinois State Conference of Charities and Corrections, author of various books, notably "Sociology and Ethics."

October 23—A. Hamilton Gibbs
England and America
The author of "Soundings" has striking views. He says, "The world has made no spiritual advance in the last 5,000 years. We do not worry over material things which were the bane of existence for our grandfathers. They are solved and packed away for all time. But the questions of life, of conduct? The problems of the spirit? We apparently have learned nothing about these."

October 30—Woodbridge N. Ferris
The Cost of Possession
The senator from Michigan is not a stranger at Lincoln Centre. From a varied experience—many years identified with educational institutions, the founder and since president of the Ferris Institute of Big Rapids, twice Governor of Michigan, Mr. Ferris has acquired a democratic philosophy of life.

November 6—Horatio Hackett Newman
Twins and Heredity
A fascinating lecture by an eminent zoologist and embryologist.

November 13—Clarence Darrow
The Battle for Freedom in Education
An interesting discussion is assured, unless Mr. Darrow is unavoidably kept away by his numerous duties in connection with "the battle for freedom in education," in which case another lecturer will be announced well in advance.

November 20—Jim Tully
Vagabonds in Literature
Jim Tully's remarkable autobiography, "Beggars of Life," has been dramatized by Maxwell Anderson, who, with Stallings, dramatized "What Price Glory." His books have been translated into French, German and Scandinavian.

November 27—John Haynes Holmes
Voltaire and Bernard Shaw: a Biographical Parallelism
Mr. Holmes has been heard by our members at least once during each of the past four seasons. Keen, logical, fearless, Mr. Holmes always interests and inspires his hearers.

December 4—Frederick Starr
The Chinese Situation
Steeped in the lore, religion and ethics of the Orient, with wide knowledge of recent happenings, Dr. Starr will speak with authority on what is the matter with China.

December 11—Bishop Wm. Montgomery Brown
Subject to be announced
Bishop Brown is one of the most famous of the heretics, but probably not the last.

December 18—Max Carl Otto
Natural Laws and Human Hopes
Another name which is never willingly omitted from a season's program. Professor Otto is a contributor to the Dial, Unpopular Review and International Journal of Ethics. Author of "Things and Ideals."

January 8—Jeanette Rankin
Subject to be announced
Formerly member of Congress.

January 15—Forrest A. Kingsbury
What Makes a Good Thinker?
Dr. Kingsbury is Professor of Psychology in the University of Chicago.

January 22—Bishop Francis J. McConnell
The Church and Freedom
Bishop McConnell was chairman of the committee of the Inter-Church World Movement appointed to investigate the eight-hour-day in the steel industry. He has recently returned from South America.

January 29—Louis Untermeyer
The New Era in American Poetry
Poet and critic. Author of "Roast Leviathan," "Challenge," "The New Adam," several standard anthologies, among them, "This Singing World" (a collection of modern poems for children), etc.

February 5—Anna Louise Strong
Japan and Russia
Sent to Russia in 1921 as correspondent of the American Relief Commission, resulting in four years of first-hand study of conditions in Russia, and having recently returned from visiting Japan as well as Russia, Miss Strong will have a thrilling story to tell.

February 12—Jay Finley Christ
Social Control of Business
Member of the University of Chicago faculty in Department of Political Economy.

February 19—Margaret Sanger
Birth Control
Mrs. Sanger is America's leading exponent of optional parenthood.

February 26—Speaker to be announced

March 5—Scott Nearing
Subject to be announced
A sociologist well known to members of the Lincoln Centre Forum.

March 12—Maurice Parmelee
Conflict in Human Nature
Leading criminologist and sociologist. Recently returned from China, Japan, India, etc.

March 19—Speaker to be announced

March 26—Arthur Guiterman
The Faith of the Poet
Author of "Chips of Jade," "The Light Guitar," "The Singing Muse," etc. Contributor to many standard monthlies and leading humorous weeklies.

The April dates are purposely left open in order that speakers whose itineraries are not yet settled may be secured.

A fifty-cent luncheon is served after each meeting—a pleasant opportunity to meet one's friends.

WILFRED WELLOCK TOURING AMERICA

Born in Lancashire, England. Spent many years in business.

Educated at Edinburgh University. Became a preacher and still preaches (as a free lance).

Founder and first Editor of *The New Crusader*. During the war was a Conscientious Objector and a leader of the C. O. Movement. Served upwards of two years in prison as a C. O. Lectures extensively for the No More War Movement, the IL.P., the Labor Party, etc.

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community out of the purposes and logic of an older religious and theological individualism. It must arise from the people themselves out of their new community habits and their collective human relationships. Until these relationships are more glad with social fellowship . . . the righteous communal spirit which will establish public churches for its self-expression cannot arise. The evolution of the community life, both its body and its mind, must precede the birth of the community soul." Commenting upon this statement in my book, "New Churches For Old," pages 290-291, I have said—"That we lack this soil for the growth of the Community Church is evident enough. . . . We have as yet no real community life, and until that community life is developed, we cannot hope to have a genuine Community Church."

We think Mr. Whitesmith's criticism is inaccurate and unfair. He needs to know what the community church idea is, and what its sponsors hope and expect of it, before he indicts it. We are really not such fools as he thinks!—J. H. H.]

A TRIBUTE

Editor of UNITY:

I am enclosing my check for five dollars ($5.00) for UNITY. . .

I have deeply responded to the editorials on the Outlawry of War, the Gandhi and Morel testimonials and many other contributions in each number.

I greatly respect the courageous attitude of the Editors on vital issues of these days of reconstruction after the chaos created by the horrors of the World War. I know of no other publication which so forcibly attacks and exposes present-day wrongs and fallacies.

Boston, Mass. M. L. C.

Member of the National Exec. of the No War Movement. Chairman of the Churches Committee of the N. M. W. Movement. Prospective Parliamentary Labor Candidate for Stourbridge. At the last General Election increased the Labor vote over 50% and missed being elected by 1,900 votes. Since the war has spent nearly twelve months in all in Europe, visiting Holland, France, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, etc., in the interests of peace, etc. and lecturing at demonstrations, etc. Author of many books, including: Christian Pacifism, India's Awakening. The Spiritual Basis of Democracy. A Modern Idealist (A Novel). Patriots (A short play).

List of Titles of Lectures by Wilfred Wellock:—Christian Pacifism, Christ and War. The Attitude of the Early Church to War. The Causes of the World War and their lessons. Modern Imperialism. Has Imperialism a moral justification? India's Awakening. The Significance of the Gandhi Movement in India. East and West: Portents and possibilities. Is total disarmament practicable? The seeds of the next war. How to end war. The color bar and its challenge. The causes of the phenomenal growth of the British Labor Movement. What the British Labor Movement stands for. What a majority Labor Government in Britain would attempt to do. The outstanding personalities of the British Labor Movement.

Note: I am undertaking to arrange a lecture itinerary for Mr. Wellock—Chicago westward and back to Chicago, five weeks from October 3. Present plan that he spend Sunday, Oct. 4, in St. Paul and Minneapolis; Sunday, Oct. 11, in Vancouver, B. C.; Sunday, October 18, in Seattle; Sunday, October 25, in Los Angeles; Sunday, Nov. 1, in Denver; *Sunday, Nov. 8, in Chicago.* I am doing this work as a "labor of love." I have told Mr. Wellock that he could expect at least his expenses on the trip, which will run around $300.00. Each place is at liberty to adopt own method for meeting its share—treating him as handsomely as possible. Anyone interested please let me know at once.

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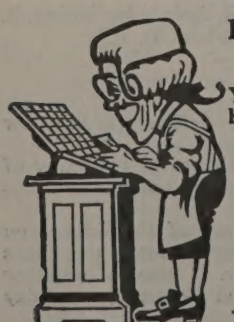

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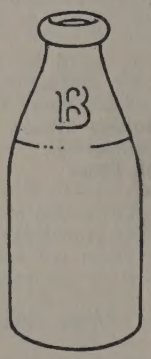

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